2: Schaden--119 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4 Kayova

/97 cont./

881 825 [582] [624] Capitão Alberto of the Kayová village of Amambai told me that the tembetá is necessary "in order to arrange for a woman," that is, for marriage; whoever marries without having the lip pierced is in great danger of becoming a victim of jaguars, snakes, or even sorcery; he is more "odoriferous" for the jaguars. Nowadays, however, not all have a pierced lip. In any case, 881 156 the piercing is essential for the formation of the male-cult personality among the Kayová. The man who does not have a labial orifice is not allowed to participate in the songs and dances of the annual celebration of the "baptism of the maize," avatí-mongaraí. According to the information of Marçal de Souza, such a restriction is not imposed on the women. Concerning the non-initiated boys, however, they are only allowed to attend the ceremonies. /The notes for Ch. VI appear on pp. 97-98 in the original source./

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Chapter VII

The Chieftaincy of the Community

622 621 Nowhere has contemporaneous Guaraní society managed to constitute an organization of state type; in the tribal culture, the idea of civil and political authority has had rudimentary development. According to traditional patterns, the political chieftaincy of the group coincides with the charismatic leadership of the priest or doctor-sorcerer. This may or may not coincide with the authority of the chief of the great-family. The chiefs of great-[596] [623] families, gathered in counsel, form a sort of informal senate, of consultive and deliberative function, without there inhering in it, among the present-day Guaraní of Brazil, any great authority 624 based on some institution. In the groups more subject to influence 621 from the civilized world, the political power is concentrated, at [648]

2: Schaden--122 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay; he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may •623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] [624] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

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624 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and retained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Nandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

identical to male Ego's "son," *ʒeroʔʒ;* and male Ego's "daughter" was *ʒeroʔʒ* (phonetically a close variant of "son," *ʒeroʔʒ*). But male Ego's "niece" (sister's daughter) was *ʒeatipé*, quite a different term phonemically. *ʒeatipé* is the relative involved if the Cayuá kinship system corresponded to that of the coastal Tupi on the point of the avuncular marriage. "Nephews" and "nieces," then, were the children of a man's sister, while for a woman they were the children of a brother. For a woman, however, both "niece" and "nephew" (brother's children) were called by the same term, *ʒeʒé*. In other words, while male Ego distinguished "niece" and "nephew" as to sex—the term for "niece" differing radically from others for siblings' offspring, female Ego did not distinguish them terminologically. This is further indirect support for the former existence among the Cayuá of preferential marriage.[69]

The avuncular marriage was admirably suited to tying together various extended families of a local group by marital bonds—a common function of marriage in social organization.

The Cayuá had terms for grandparents, distinguishing them according to sex and extending to brothers and sisters of lineal grandparents. Only one term is now used for all grandchildren by either a male or female Ego. However, judging from other Tupi-Guarani peoples, the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara, as well as from the early missionary-compiled dictionaries, the Cayuá perhaps formerly had a separate term for grandchildren depending upon the sex of the speaker.[70]

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little is known or can be surmised of aboriginal Cayuá leadership or political organization. A household headman has been mentioned and was probably the eldest, most influential, or most respected male of each *tapuí*. Presumably it was this man to whom the early documents referred when they spoke of the "*tábisha*" or "cacique," but it is difficult to know if each household was largely autonomous or if one elder, or a council, was as a rule in limited ascendency over the several households of a local group. The latter seems likely to have been the case. As has been frequently pointed out in similar situations, however, it is not easy to judge how much political authority such officers actually had since it has been a common and immediate result of white contact to increase and centralize native political authority. A council of household leaders is indirectly suggested in some of the early chronicles. It is here again hard to tell if such was a normal thing or a special arrangement evoked by the unprecedented problems created by the coming of the Europeans.

[69] Montoya, 1876, Column 471, gives substantially the same term for the sister's daughter relationship, man speaking, as is registered for the modern Cayuá (17th century data).

[70] Wagley and Galvão, 1946, p. 17.